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ABSTRACT

Over 1,200 references are cited in this bibliography of literature representing two major areas of citizen participation: community organizing and grassroots participation. Materials, most of which were published between 1970 and the present, deal mainly with local citizen activism that operates both inside and outside normal government channels. Accentuating many aspects of citizen activism, the bibliography (1) places grassroots participation in a general political and economic framework that illustrates the causes and conditions of activism, (2) is strongly action-oriented, (3) places activist strategies in the context of specific public policies, and (4) encompasses areas that citizen participation materials usually ignore. Fourteen sections focus on political theory and political movements, economic democracy and community economic development, general strategies and tactics, media strategies and communications, legal strategies and community justice, electoral politics for community groups, worker participation and workplace democracy, women and racial minorities, neighborhood action (housing, planning, welfare, and poverty), community ecology, community health and education, citizen action in human rights, and cross-national participation. The final section contains a listing of grassroots periodicals. An author index concludes the bibliography. (LH)

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Citizen Action and Social Change: A Bibliography

Robert Elias and Michael P. Woodbridge

July 1984

Lincoln Filene Center
for
Citizenship and Public Affairs
Tufts University
Medford, Massachusetts

FOREWARD

The concept of citizen participation is powerful and perplexing. It is powerful because it represents one of the most widely held civic values in America: that people should be informed about and have a say in political decisions that affect them. It is perplexing in that there are many different forms of participation. For example, citizen participation may refer to such electoral processes as voting or campaigning for referenda proposals (electoral participation); it may refer to government-sponsored activities, such as advisory committees or public hearings, to inform and involve citizens (citizen involvement); or, it may also refer to grassroots initiatives by citizens to educate the public or to lobby government officials (citizen action).

In the past decade or so, substantial progress has been made in dealing with the perplexing nature of citizen participation as scholars and practitioners have recognized and devoted attention to these three different forms of participation. Increasingly, students of government have come to focus their research and analyze various issues associated with electoral participation, citizen involvement, and citizen action. This bibliography is an example of this targeting of attention on one form of citizen participation: grassroots citizen action.

What is unique about citizen action is that it is organized around many types of issues and utilizes many types of methods. What is significant about this bibliography is that it identifies a rich variety of resources that are concerned with methods as well as the experience and needs of citizens in dealing with a wide variety of issues.

I congratulate Robert Elias and Michael Woodbridge for this extraordinarily helpful piece of work. It is an invaluable tool for scholars and practitioners, and I am pleased to have it developed in association with the Lincoln Filene Center.

Stuart Langton
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

Foreward i

Introduction 3

I. Political Theory and Political Movements 6

  A. Political Theory 6
  B. Political Movements 10

II. Economic Democracy and Community Economic Development 14

  A. Economic Theory 14
  B. Economic Change Strategies 16
  C. Community Economic Development 18

III. Strategies and Tactics 21

  A. Community Organizing Strategies 21
  B. Strategies for Fundamental Change 24
  C. Tactics 28

IV. Media Strategies and Communications 35

V. Legal Strategies and Community Justice 40

  A. Theory 40
  B. Legal Strategies 41
  C. Community Justice 44

VI. Electoral Politics for Community Groups 46

VII. Worker Participation and Workplace Democracy . . 48

  A. Labor Organizing 48
  B. Worker Self-Management 51

Pages

VIII. Women and Racial Minorities 55

- A. Women's Movements 55
- B. Racial Movements 58

IX. Neighborhood Action: Housing, Planning, Welfare and Poverty 61

- A. Neighborhood Power 61
- B. Housing 66
- C. Planning 68
- D. Welfare and Poverty 69

X. Community Ecology: Environment, Energy, Food and Technology 72

- A. Environment 72
- B. Energy 74
- C. Food 76
- D. Technology 76

XI. Community Health and Community Education 78

- A. Health 78
- B. Education 80

XII. Citizen Action in Human Rights and Foreign Policy 82

XIII. Cross National Participation 88

XIV. Citizen Action Periodicals 91

Author Index 94

The Authors 103

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography gathers literature in a major area of the field of citizen participation: community organizing and grassroots participation. These materials emphasize a "bottom up" approach to participation, and citizen action for social change. They are concerned mostly with local citizen activism that operates both inside and outside normal governmental channels. These materials seek to organize communities and groups to promote politically progressive social change and to enhance both procedural and substantive democracy in the American political system.

The materials listed here do not stress citizen involvement through government-mandated programs or traditional interest groups, nor do they exhaustively cover the specific, day-to-day tasks of community organizing. We highly recommend two other bibliographies for these areas, respectively: *The Theory and Practice of Citizen Participation: A Bibliography* [1], by Jeffrey M. Berry and Robert Horn, and *Helping Citizens Participate: A Bibliography of "How-To-Do-It" Publications* [2], by Alan J. Hahn and Ellen Czaplewski.

The bibliography herein accentuates many aspects of citizen activism. First, it places grassroots participation into a general political and economic framework that illustrates the causes and conditions of activism. The citations examine the value and potential of participatory and economic democracy, as well as the structural obstacles they face. Materials on political theory and political movements underscore the motivations for social change, and the historical development of such activity (see "Political Theory and Political Movements"). The sources also stress the economic system's importance for effective citizen action (see "Economic Democracy and Community Economic Development").

Second, the bibliography is strongly action-oriented. It presents an extensive array of participatory strategies. The materials emphasize many approaches to community organizing and broader social change (see "Strategies and Tactics" in particular). Not only do the sources examine strategies for uniting and mobilizing communities, but they also suggest more fundamental structural transformations in the political and economic system. Beyond general strategies for organizing and change, the citations gathered here also highlight some of the major, specific approaches, including media (see "Media Strategies and Communications"), legal (see "Legal Strategies and Community Justice"), electoral (see "Electoral Strategies for Community Groups"), economic (see "Economic Democracy and Community Economic Development"), and labor (see "Worker Participation and Workplace Democracy") strategies.

Third, the bibliography places activist strategies in the context of specific public policies. The sources examine problems in policy areas such as planning, housing, welfare, poverty (see "Neighborhood Action"), environment, energy, food, technology (see "Community Ecology"), health and education (see "Community Health and Community Education"). While grassroots approaches to policy problems predominate, the citations also cover citizen involvement, and government-sponsored approaches.

And fourth, the bibliography encompasses a couple of areas that citizen participation usually ignores. It pays particular attention to transcending the domestic, American context, by including materials about citizen action designed to influence foreign policy inside the United States (see "Citizen Action in Human Rights and Foreign Policy"), and outside the United States (see "Cross-National Participation"), as well. It also strongly underscores the citizen activity of America's disadvantaged groups (see "Women and Racial Minorities"). In developing strategies for social organization and change, we cannot ignore that such groups bear the brunt of our society's adverse political and economic consequences.

More specifically, the bibliography consists of fourteen sections that we organized to best facilitate the aforementioned sources. The sections evolve beginning with the political and economic context, then with general and specific organizing strategies, followed by approaches to particular policy problems, then by foreign policy and cross-national approaches, and ending with a series of grassroots periodicals. As each section appears throughout the bibliography, it begins with a more specific description of its contents and perspectives to guide the reader. We believe this structure will facilitate a logical and useful organization of materials for citizen practitioners, teachers, and researchers in the field.

Taken together, this bibliography should serve as an important resource for people who seek to control their communities and who seek social change in American society. Our social problems are not isolated phenomena, but rather are interrelated issues. Thus, we have chosen the materials so that although each section can stand on its own, the various parts also interact to produce a comprehensive analysis of the American social, economic, and political system, and a basis for an integrated strategy for promoting human progress through citizen participation.

In preparing this bibliography, we have made every effort to check the accuracy of our references. If you find mistakes or would like to recommend changes for future editions, please let us know. We hope this bibliography helps you with your scholarly research or organizing efforts.

We greatly appreciate the help Ken Thomson and Rob Horn have provided us in preparing this bibliography. A special word of thanks is due Deborah Manning for her copy editing of our final manuscript. We also would like to thank Stuart Langton for facilitating this document's publication by the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs. Finally, we would like to recognize the students in the Graduate Program in Public Policy and Citizen Participation at Tufts University, who motivated us substantially to initiate and complete this project.

Michael P. Woodbridge
Robert Elias

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POLITICAL THEORY
AND
POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

This section develops the rationale for citizen activism, explores the different levels of social-change participation, examines American political consciousness and social activism, and provides an historical setting for current grassroots participation. The materials begin with political power, participation, and consciousness, including political critiques, and organizing and social-change theory. It then presents historical and contemporary movements by citizens generally, and by specific groups.

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ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY
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COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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This section contains the broadest coverage of strategies and tactics, without embracing specialized approaches or particular policy areas. The materials begin with more modest, smaller-scale community organizing approaches, and then focuses on strategies for more fundamental social change. It concludes by exploring some important, specific tactics for pursuing these strategies, including the essential tasks of fundraising, leadership, membership, research, planning, and direct action.

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MEDIA STRATEGIES
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COMMUNICATIONS

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LEGAL STRATEGIES AND COMMUNITY JUSTICE

This section recognizes the law's importance as a mechanism for influencing politics, promoting rights, imposing regulations, and providing alternative social structures. The materials begin with a critical analysis of the legal system, and then cover the various legal strategies available for grassroots organizations, including litigation and legal services. This section concludes by examining various aspects of community justice, including community crime control, and alternative, neighborhood justice systems.

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WORKER PARTICIPATION
AND
WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY

This section highlights labor's importance for broader social movements and social change. It emphasizes two aspects of labor activism: contemporary strategies for labor organizing, and the newly emerging writings about worker self-management, ownership, and control. Some of the materials also address the interaction between the two strategies. The materials also examine the relationship between labor organizing and community organizing.

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WOMEN
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NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION: HOUSING, PLANNING, WELFARE, AND POVERTY

This section introduces the bibliography's coverage of specific policy areas at the community level. It begins with the general context of neighborhood power, and then presents materials on community-controlled housing and planning, and on citizen activism to improve welfare and end poverty. This section (like the next two sections) also emphasizes smaller-scale, decentralized strategies for meeting people's basic human needs.

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COMMUNITY ECOLOGY:
ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY, FOOD
AND
TECHNOLOGY

This section presents strategies for a more balanced, human-scale, and healthier ecology. Each subsection explores specific alternative approaches, as well as their interrelationships. This section also emphasizes the importance of citizens, instead of scientific experts, for designing locally controlled technologies.

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COMMUNITY HEALTH
AND
COMMUNITY EDUCATION

This section completes the theme of the previous two sections: alternative, community-controlled institutions. It highlights the destructive and discriminatory aspects of our current educational and health structures. It then examines strategies for community organization and control of these policies. This section also gives special attention to the role of education in developing political consciousness and citizen activism.

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CITIZEN ACTION
IN
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOREIGN POLICY

This section presents an often neglected area of citizen activism. The materials explore the possibilities of citizen influence and control of foreign policymaking against the traditional arguments relegating citizen participation purely to the domestic sphere. They also address the role of citizen activism in reducing human-rights violations at home and abroad, through both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. This section makes an important connection between domestic organizing efforts and broader world problems.

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CITIZEN ACTION PERIODICALS

This section presents a series of periodicals that regularly cover grassroots participation and community organizing in the broader context of political and economic theory. Many of the references take a general approach to these subjects, but several others emphasize particular social groups (such as women) or particular social problems (such as the economy or war). These periodicals provide a valuable supplement to the articles and books listed in the bibliography for keeping abreast of new materials.

Business and Society - critical theory and evaluation of role of business in society

Citizen Participation - coverage of effective citizen action in neighborhoods, government, and electoral politics

Community Jobs - progressive strategies, jobs, and organizations

Contemporary Crises - critical theory and evaluation of role of State in Europe and U.S.

Crime and Social Justice - critical theory and evaluation of criminal justice system and related institutions

Democracy - theories and strategies for political self-renewal and radical change

Dissent - political commentary

Dollars and Sense - critical evaluation of economic system and strategies for change

Equal Times - feminist and political commentary

Feminist Studies - critical feminist evaluations of society

In These Times - progressive political commentary and news

Journal of Community Action - strategies for community organization

Journal of Voluntary Action Research - strategies for community organization

Just Economics - strategies for community organization and alternative economics

Citizen Action Periodicals

Kapitalistate - critical theory and evaluation of role of capitalist State

Monthly Review - critical, socialist evaluation of political and economic system

Mother Jones - critical analysis of American society

Multinational Monitor - critical evaluation of corporate behavior

Nation - general progressive political news, criticism and commentary

New Internationalist - progressive Third World perspectives on development and related issues

New Left Review - critical, socialist evaluation of political and economic system

New Political Science - theoretical evaluation of political and economic system

Peace and Change - human rights, peace, and related issues

Politics and Society - theoretical evaluations of politics and society

Quest - feminist and political commentary

Race and Class - critical cross-national evaluation of race and class issues

Radical America - critical evaluation of political and economic system, and strategies for change

Review of Black Political Economy - critical evaluation of minority politics and economics

Review of Radical Political Economics - critical, theoretical analysis of political and economic system

Socialist Review - critical, socialist evaluation of political and economic system, and strategies for change

Social Policy - critical analysis of American society

Citizen Action Periodicals

Social Problems - theoretical evaluation of political and social problems

The Progressive - critical analysis of American society

Win - critical evaluation of military and foreign policy, and related justice issues

Working Papers - critical evaluation of labor, economy, and related issues, and strategies for change

Workplace Democracy - worker control and self-management strategies

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AUTHORS INDEX

*** A ***

Abel, Richard, L. . . . 41
Aberbach, Joel D. . . . 6
Abrahamsson, Bengt . . . 48, 51
Ackerman, Frank . . . 14
ACORN . . . 28
Adams, Jan . . . 88
Agnew, Jean-Christophe . . . 6
Alba, Ernst . . . 72
Albert, Michael . . . 82
Alcaly, Roger . . . 14
Alderson, George . . . 28
Aleshire, Robert A. . . . 68
Alford, Robert R. . . . 21
Alger, Chadwick . . . 82
Alinsky, Saul . . . 21, 28, 35
Allen, Henry . . . 48
Alperovitz, Gar . . . 16
Alschuler, John H. . . . 74
Alternate Media Center . . . 35
Altshuler, Alan A. . . . 58, 61
Ambrecht, Biliana C. S. . . . 58, 69
Anderson, Chuck . . . 35
Anderson, Perry . . . 24
Angell, Robert Cooley . . . 82
Annas, George J. . . . 41
Ansara, Michael . . . 6, 16, 21
Appelbaum, Richard P. . . . 61
Apple, Michael . . . 80
Arlook, Ira . . . 48
Aronowitz, Stanley
. . . 6, 24, 40, 48, 69
Atkins, Chester . . . 46
Atlas, John . . . 66-67
Auerbach, Jerold . . . 40
Auls, Lawrence . . . 58

*** B ***

Babchuk, Nicholas . . . 58
Bablitch, Mary . . . 35
Bachrach, Peter . . . 6
Bailey, R. Lance . . . 68
Bailey, Robert . . . 21
Bailis, Lawrence N. . . . 69
Balbus, Isaac . . . 40, 58
Ballenger, Bruce . . . 28, 35
Barber, Daniel . . . 28
Barbrook, Alec . . . 10
Barkan, Steven E. . . . 76
Barnes, Peter . . . 78
Baron, George . . . 80
Barrett-Brown, Michael . . . 51
Batko, William . . . 28
Bay, Christian . . . 24, 82
Bayes, Jane . . . 58
Beach, Mark . . . 35
Beam, John . . . 24, 83
Beitz, Charles . . . 25, 83
Bell, David . . . 35
Bender, Thomas . . . 6, 74
Benello, C. George . . . 51
Beres, Louis . . . 83
Berger, Peter . . . 6
Berkowitz, William . . . 21, 61
Berman, Dan . . . 48
Bernard, Jessie . . . 55
Bernstein, Eduard . . . 14
Bernstein, Paul . . . 51
Berry, Jeffrey . . . 10, 28
Bertcher, Harvey . . . 28
Best, Michael . . . 14
Bezold, Clement . . . 51
Biagi, Bob . . . 28
Biegel, Len . . . 35
Biklen, Douglas . . . 21
Birch, David L. . . . 61
Black, Jonathan . . . 40
Blaustein, Arthur . . . 16
Blaustone, Beryl . . . 41
Bluestone, Barry . . . 18
Blumberg, Richard E. . . . 41
Boggan, E. . . . 41
Boggs, Carl . . . 6, 51
Bolman, William M. . . . 78
Boneparth, Ellen . . . 55
Bonner, Raymond . . . 42
Bookchin, Murray . . . 7, 72
Booth, Heather . . . 11, 16, 46
Booth, Paul . . . 11, 29
Borosage, Robert . . . 42
Boschken, Herman L. . . . 21
Bowles, Samuel . . . 80
Boyte, Harry C.
11, 16, 21-22, 25, 51, 61, 83
Brady, James . . . 44
Brager, George . . . 29, 69
Brandow, Karen . . . 51
Bratt, Rachel . . . 18, 67
Braverman, Harry . . . 48
Brecher, Jeremy . . . 48
Breitman, George . . . 7
Brigham, Nancy . . . 35

Brill, Harry 67
Brilliant, Eleanor 18
Brodsky, Barry 67
Brody, Ralph 29
Brom, Thomas 35, 74
Brown, Claude 58
Brown, Robert 42
Brown, Sam 18
Browning, Frank 44
Bruner, Rosemary 78
Buckley, Marie 44
Bunch, Charlotte 55
Burges, Bill 80
Burghardt, Steve 22
Burke, Edmund 68
Burke, Susan 42
Burton, Nancy 29
Buttenweiser, Peter 80
Byron, Peg 55

*** C ***

Cable Television Information Center . . 35-36
Cahn, Edgar 61
Caja Laboral Popular 51, 88
Calder, Nigel 83
Caldicott, Helen 72
Caldwell, Lynton 72
Calvert, Greg 22
Cameron, John 74
Campbell, Alastair 51, 88
Camus, Albert 7
Cantarow, Ellen 55
Carmichael, Stokely 29, 58
Carnoy, Martin 14, 16, 51
Carroll, Berenice A. 83
Carson, Clayborne 58
Carson-Finnerty 83
Carter, April 7
Case Comment 72
Case, John 51, 61
Casper, Barry M. 74
Cassidy, Robert 61
Castells, Manuel . . . 11, 14, 61
Castro, Fidel 25
Cauble, Michelle 35
Center for Community Change . 14
Center for Law and Social Policy 72
Center on Human Policy 61
Chaffee, Steven H. 36
Chaliand, Gerard 25, 88
Chasnoff, Debra 17
Chatfield, Charles 83
Chavez, Cesar 7
Checkoway, Barry 76, 78
Chu, Godwin 36
Cirino, Robert 36
Citizens Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality . 68
Civic Action Institute 68
Clement, David 48
Cloward, Richard A. 22, 29
Cluster, Dick 11, 14
Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy . 14, 83
Coates, Gary J. 61, 72
Coates, Joseph F. 76
Cohen, Bernard 83
Cohen, Etahn 72
Cohen, Stanley 70
Coit, Katherine 22
Colby, David 58
Colcord, Frank 7
Cole, Richard 62
Commoner, Barry 46, 74
Community Ownership Project . 19
Community Research and Publications Group 29
Compa, Lance 48, 52
Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies . 74
Connor, Desmond 29
Conover, Donald K. 52
Consumer Information Division 17
Cook, Terrence E. 7
Coover, Virginia 25
Cornucopia Project 76
Corrigan, Thomas 62
Corson, Ross 36
Cortner, Richard C. 42
Costain, Anne N. 55
Council for Public Interest Law 40, 42
Cowan, Paul 11
Cowley, John 67
Cox, Fred 29
Cramer, Robert 29
Creamer, Day 29, 55
Crenson, Matthew 29
Crick, Bernard 7
Cummings, Bernice 55
Cunningham, James V. 62
Cupps, D. 17
Currie, Elliott 40, 44
Curry, Martha 68

Curtis, Jr., Russell L. 11
Cuthbertson, Wendy 52

*** D ***

Dale, Duane 29, 68
Danzig, Richard 44
Davidson, Basil 88
Davis, Angela 44, 55
Day, Jr., Samuel H. 83
de Groot, Jane 80
de Kieffer, Donald 29
Debray, Regis 25, 88
DeCrow, Karen 40, 55
Delgado, Gary 22
Dellinger, Dave 11
Denny, William M. 49
Derber, Charles 49
Dewitt, Sherri 52
Diamant, Anita 55, 83
Division Of Voluntary
    Programs 78
Dluhy, Milan 22
Dolgoff, Sam 52
Dollars and Sense Collective . 14
Domhoff, G. William 7, 46
Dorfman, Ron 22, 62
Dorwart, R. A. 78
Dowd, Douglas F. 14, 25
Doyal, Lesley 79
Dreier, Peter 7, 36, 67
Dubro, Alec. 36
Ducas, Dorothy 36
Dye, Thomas 7

*** E ***

Ebbin, Steven 72
Edelman, Murray 7
Edwards, Richard 14, 25
Ehrenreich, Barbara 55
Eidson, Bill 72
Eisenberg, Pablo 30
Eisentein, Eillah 55
Elias, Robert 40, 44
Ellul, Jacques 7, 36
Enerson, Roxanne 19
Engels, Frederick 25
English, Deidre 56
Ennis, Bruce 42
Epstein, Barbara 56
Esping-Andersen, Gosta . . 17, 88
Eugster, Carla 62
Evans, Sara M. 25, 56

*** F ***

Fagence, M. 68
Faich, Ronald G. 72
Fainstein, Norman . . 11, 58, 62
Falk, Joe 62
Falk, Richard 83
Fanning, Odom 73
Fanon, Frantz 25
Fantini, Mario 22
Faramelli, Norman J. 62
Faux, Jeff 19
Feather, Frank 84
Feldberg, Roslyn 52, 56
Fellman, Gordon 11
Fellner, Kim 49
Fernstrom, John 19
Fessler, Donald R. 30
Fields, Belden 49, 88
Firestone, Shulamith 56
Fish, John Hall 59
Fisher, Roger 30
Fishman, Mark 36
Fitzgerald, Frances 80
Flanagan, Joan 30
Fleishmann, Ellen 30
Foner, Philip. 7
Forman, James 59
Foster, Charles . 73, 79-80, 88
Foundation for Public Relations
    Research and Education . . 36
Frank, Richard 84
Frederickson, George 62
Freedberg, Michael 67
Freeman, Jo 30, 56
Freeman, Joseph 46, 74
Freire, Paulo . . . 7-8, 25, 80
Friedman, Paul R. 42
Fullilove, Morag 30
Fullinwider, John 62

*** G ***

Galanter, Marc 40
Galtung, Johan 84
Gamson, William 22
Gandhi, Mohandas 84
Gans, Herbert 37, 59, 70
Garson, G. David 52, 88
Gaventa, John 62
Gelb, Joyce 70
Georgakas, Dan 11
George, Christine 49
Ginger, Ann Fagan 42

Ginger, Ray 8
Ginsberg, Woodrow 19
Gitlin, Todd 37
Gittell, Marilyn 56, 81
Gittes, Betty 30
Glynn, Shamus 40
Godschalk, David 73
Goering, John M. 15
Goetz, Rolf 62
Goldman, Emma 8, 56
Goldrich, David 73
Goodman, Percival 73
Goodman, Robert 15, 68
Goodwin, Carole 59
Goodwyn, Lawrence 11, 25
Gordon, David M. 15, 40
Gordon, George 37
Gordon, Robbie 37
Gordon, Susanne 84
Gormley, William 74
Gorz, Andre . . . 8, 15, 17, 49
Gowan, Susanne 15, 25, 84
Gramsci, Antonio 26
Green, Gil 26
Green, James 11
Green, Mark J. 17, 26, 46
Green, Martin 84
Green, Philip 63
Greenberg, David 44
Greenberg, Edward 15, 52
Greever, Barry 30, 46
Greifer, Julian L. 63
Gross, Bertram 8, 15, 37
Grossman, Richard 75
Guimary, Donald 37
Guinther, John 11
Gunn, Christopher 52
Gusfield, Joseph 12
Gyorgy, Anna 73

*** H ***

Habermas, Jurgen 81
Haight, Timothy 37
Haines, Pamela 75
Hallman, Howard . . . 17, 63, 68
Hampden-Turner, Charles . . . 70
Handler, Joel 42
Hannigan, Evelyn 46
Hapgood, David 30
Harrington, Michael
 . . . . 15, 17, 26, 46
Harris, Ian M. 59
Harrison, Bennett 17
Hartman, Chester 68
Hartman, Curtis 17
Hartsock, Nancy 56
Harty, Sheila 81
Hayden, Tom. 15, 17
Henderson, Hazel
 . 12, 17, 22, 37, 73, 77, 84
Hentoff, Nat 84
Herman, Edward S. 15
Hero, Alfred 84
Hess, Karl 63, 77
Higgins, Jim 30
Hillman, Arthur 63
Hinton, William 12, 88
Hirsch, Glenn 37
Hochschild, Adam 84, 88
Hoffman, Robert L. 84
Holleb, Gordon 79
Hollister, Rob 63
Holman, Halsted R. 77
Horn, Linda 79
Horowitz, Laura 30
Horrobin, David 77
House Committee on
 Government Operations . . 30
Howard, Robert 15, 22, 49
Hrebenar, Ronald J. 84
Huenefeld, John 30
Hunnius, Gary 52
Hunt, Gary 37
Huntington, Samuel P. 8
Hutcheson, J. D. 22

*** I ***

Ianacone, Evonne 37
Illinois Education
 Association 37
Illych, Ivan 81
Institute for Food and
 Development Policy 84
Institute for Labor
 Education Research 15
Institute for Public
 Transportation 68
Institute for Social Justice . 42
Institute for Study of Labor
 and Economic Crisis . . . 46
Irland, Lloyd C. 73
Irwin, Bob 73
Israel, Thomas 49

*** J ***

Jackson, Kate W. 37

Jackson, Larry R. 70
Jacobs, Jim 22, 63
Jacobson, Solomon 70
Jaggi, Max 63, 79, 81, 89
James, Hulbert 59, 63
Janeway, Elizabeth 56
Jeffrey, Mildred 46, 56
Jeffrey-Jones, Rhodri 85
Jenkins, David 52, 89
Jenkins, J. Craig 76
Jezer, Marty 73
Johansen, Robert 85
Johnson, Chalmers 26
Johnson, Elmer 44
Johnson, J. Marchetia 37
Johnson, Lee 75
Johnson, Nicholas 37
Johnson, Warren A. 75
Jones, Delmos J. 59
Jones, Mary 12
Jones, W. Ron 30
Judis, John 17, 46

*** K ***

Kahn, Si 31
Kairys, David 40
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss 17
Kaplan, Fred 85
Kaplan, Temma 89
Kasperson, Roger E. 68
Katz, Alfred 79
Katz, James 31
Katz, Milton 85
Katznelson, Ira 8, 12
Kautsky, Karl 26
Kazis, Richard 38
Keating, Donald 23
Keeley, Grazina 19
Kelman, Herbert C. 85
Kendrick, Frank 31
Kennard, Byron 77
Kenworthy, Eldon 89
Kesselman, Mark 26
King, Mel 59, 63, 70
Klein, Ted 38
Kleyman, Paul 23, 38
Kochiemba, Tom 31
Koedt, Anne 56
Koestler, Frances A. 36
Kokopoli, Bruce 26
Kopkind, Andrew. . . . 38, 46, 63
Kothari, Rajni 85
Kotler, Milton 12, 63
Kotz, Nick 12, 19
Kramer, Ralph 70
Krause, Elliot 8
Krimsky, Sheldon 77
Krisberg, Barry 41
Krislov, Samuel 42
Kuttner, Bob 15, 18

*** L ***

Lader, Lawrence 12
Lafargue, Paul 49
Lakey, George 26, 85
Lamson, Laurie Abbott 38
Lancourt, Joan 23
Langton, Stuart . 8, 44, 73, 85
Lappe, Frances Moore . . . 76, 85
Larson, Richard 42
Laszlo, Ervin 85
Lauffer, Armand 31
Law, Sylvia 42
League of Women Voters 31, 38, 42
Lefcourt, Robert 41, 43
Leftwich, Richard 18
Leghorn, Lisa 56
Lekachman, Robert 15
Lembcke, Jerry 52, 89
Lenin, V. I. 26
Lens, Sidney . 8, 12, 23, 47, 52
Leonard, Peter 70
Lepper, Mary Milling 85
Lerner, Michael 26, 49
Levering, Ralph 85
Levin, Henry 81
Levin, Lowell S. 79
Levine, Mark D. 44
Levy, Paul 63
Lindblom, Charles 15
Lindenfeld, Frank 52
Linton, Rhoda 56
Lipsky, Michael . . . 23, 63, 67
Litt, Edgar 23
Lockard, Duane 59
Loebl, Eugene 16, 18
Logue, John 53
Loney, Martin 18
Lottman, Herbert 8
Loud, David 79
Lovins, Amory 75, 85
Lummis, Charles Douglas . . . 8
Lundberg, Mark 31
Luria, Dan 19
Luxemburg, Rosa 16, 26
Lynd, Alice 49

Lynd, Staughton . . . 23, 26, 53

*** M ***

Machiavelli, Niccolo 23
Macknen, Michael Bruce 38
MacPherson, C. B. 8
Macy, Jack 76
Madison, Terry Mizrahi 79
Mahmood, Syyed 19
Majka, Linda C. 49
Males, Mike 31
Mandle, Joan 56
Mankin, Eric 47
Mann, Heinrich 49
Mansbridge, Jane J. 64
Marable, Manning 59, 64
Marcuse, Herbert 8
Margolis, Richard J. 47
Marschall, Dan 49
Marsh, Alan 9, 86
Martin, Joe 89
Martinez, Barbara F. 38
Marx, Gary T. 12, 45
MassPIRG 45
Matorin, Bob 38
Max, Steve . . 9, 12, 19, 23, 31, 50, 70
Mayer, Milton 41
Mayer, Neil 19
Mayo, Majorie 56
Mazmanian, Daniel A. 73
McAllister, Pam 56
McDermott, John 50, 64
McDougal, Harold 64
McFarlane, William 79
McGuigan, Pat 19
McKean, Margaret 73, 89
McLaughlin, Loretta 79
McLuhan, Marshall 38
McNeely, Joseph 64
McRobie, George 19
McSurely, Alan 31
Mehrabian, Albert 31
Meir, August 59
Mendlovitz, Saul 86
Meredith, Judith 31
Meriwether, Jan 47
Merrill, Richard 76
Merry, Sally Engle 45
Messinger, Ruth 47
Milbrath, Lester 86
Milgram, Morris 67
Miliband, Ralph 9
Milkman, Ruth 50
Miller, Judith 89
Miller, Mike . . . 12, 47, 64, 67
Mills, C. Wright 9
Minkle, Beryl 70
Mintz, Morton 9
Mische, Gerald 86
Mitchell, John G. 73
Mitiguy, Nancy 31
Moberg, David 50
Mollenkopf, John 64
Monds, Jean 53, 89
Montgomery, David 53
Morais, Henry 12, 50
Moreno, Abiano 20
Morgan, Richard 75
Morgan, Robin 57
Morris, David 20, 64, 75
Mortimer, Wyndham 50
Mott, Andrew 64
Movement for a New Society . . 23
Moyer, William 32
Muller, Edward 26

*** N ***

Nader, Laura 45
Nader, Ralph 32, 38, 43
Naison, Mark D. 32
National Association of Broadcasters 38
National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs . . . 64
National Commission Against Discrimination in Housing 38
National Lawyers Guild 43
National Training and Information Center 64
Needleman, Martin L. 68
Neier, Ayreh 43
Nelkin, Dorothy . 69, 73, 77, 89
Nelson, Jack 76
Neuber, Keith 69
New, Anne L. 36
Newfield, Jack 9
Newmann, Fred M. 81
Noble, David F. 77
North American Congress on Latin America 32
Norton, Alice 36
Noyes, Dan 32

*** O ***

O'Connor, D'Arcy 89

O'Connor, James 16
O'Connor, Karen 43, 57
O. M. Collective 32
Oakeshott, Robert 53
Okagaki, Alan 75
Olsen, Marvin E. 9
Oppenheimer, Martin . . . 9, 32
Organization for Social and
Technical Innovation . . . 67
Ornstein, Norman 86
Orr, David 77
Ortiz, Roxanne Dunbar 59
Orum, Anthony M. 12
Osborne, David 47
Oshiro, Carl 32

*** P ***

Paige, Connie 70
Panitch, Leo 53
Parenti, Michael 9, 47
Pateman, Carole 9
Pawlak, Vic 38
Peccei, Aurelio 86
Perez de Calleja Basterrechia,
Antonio 53, 89
Perlman, Janice E. 23, 26
Perry, Stewart E. 18
Pfeffer, Max J. 76
Piao, Lin 27
Pitkin, Hanna F. 9
Piven, Frances Fox
. . 12, 16, 27, 59, 64, 69-71
Platt, Tony 41
Polsky, Andrew J. 71
Pool, Ithielde Sola 38
Pooley, Eric 86
Poston, Richard 64
Poulantzas, Nicos. 27
Prentice, Lloyd 39
Primary Care
Development Project . . . 79
Przybylski, Mike 69

*** Q ***

Quinney, Richard 41

*** R ***

Rabinovitz, Judy 57
Ragan, James 74
Raskin, Marcus 9
Rathke, Wade 32
Redhead, Steve 43
Reece, Ray 75
Reed, David 27, 67
Reed, Scott 43
Reese, Gunter 86, 89
Reiman, Jeffrey 41
Reissman, Frank 24
Rejai, Mostafa 27
Ricci, David 9
Riddiough, Christine R. . 47, 57
Ridgeway, James 75
Riesman, Jean 67
Rifkin, Jeremy 50, 53
Roach, Jack L. 27
Robinson, Jo Ann Ooiman . . . 86
Rochon, Thomas 89
Roelofs, H. Mark 9
Rogers, Ray 32
Ronco, William 76
Rose, Dan 39
Rosen, Corey 53
Rosenau, James 86
Rosenbaum, Nelson 69
Rosenbaum, Walter 74
Rosenbloom, Robert A. 13
Rosenstone, Robert 9
Ross, Donald 32
Ross, Murray 32
Ross, Susan 43
Rossman, Michael 10, 81
Rothman, Jack 32
Rothschild-Whitt, Joyce . 53, 89
Rothstein, Richard 32
Rotkin, Michael 27
Rouder, Susan 39, 45, 81
Roussopoulos, Dimitrios . . . 24
Rowbotham, Sheila 57
Rubenstein, David 67
Rude, George 13, 27
Rudofsky, David 43
Ruoss, Meryl 24
Russell, Bertrand 10, 86
Rustin, Bayard 24
Ryan, William. 71

*** S ***

Sabatier, Paul 13
Sackrey, Charles 16, 60
Safilios-Rothschild,
Constantina 57
Sager, Anthony 43
Salas, Luis 45
Sale, Kirkpatrick 65
Salisbury, Robert 81
Sandman, Peter 39

Satin, Mark 24
Schachter, Rob 20
Schaefer, Elizabeth 75
Schaller, Lyle S. 32
Scharfenberg, Kirk 20
Schattschneider, E. E. 10
Scheingold, Stuart 41
Schiller, Herbert 39
Schiller, Margery K. 39
Schmidt, Frances 36
Schoenberg, Susan 65
Schoultz, Lars 86
Schrag, Philip 43
Schumacher, E. F. 20
Schuman, Samuel I. 32
Schwartz, Edward 13
Schwartz, Michael 32
Schwartz, Tony 39
Scott, Hilda 57
Seely, John R. 24
Selcer, Janet 50
Sennett, Richard 10
Shamberg, Michael 39
Shapiro, Stewart 24
Sharp, Gene . . . 10, 18, 24, 33, 39, 86
Shearer, Derek 47, 69
Sheth, D. L. 86
Shier, Carl 50
Shier, Nancy 47
Shor, Ira 27, 81
Shull, Jane 65
Shulman, Alix Kates 57
Sidel, Ruth . . . 65, 79, 81, 89
Sidel, Victor W. 65, 80
Siegel, Richard L. 53, 90
Sierra Club 74
Silberman, Charles 60, 71
Silver, Michael 65
Silverstein, Deborah 33
Simpson, Dick 24, 47, 65
Singer, Peter 24
Sklar, Susan 53
Skogan, Wesley 45
Smelser, Neil 13
Smith, David 81
Smith, Herbert H. 69
Smith, Michael 65
Smith, Roy A. 39
Smith, Ward 20
Snyder, Rachel 75
Sofri, Adriano 50, 90
Solar Action 39
Sorel, Georges 27
Sorretino, Anthony 45
Source Collective 80
Sousa Santos, Buaventura . . . 45
Speeter, Greg 33, 65
Spence, Jack 45, 90
Spiegel, Hans 33, 65, 90
Sprintzen, David 50
St. George, Philip 20
Stacey, Judith 57, 90
Stanford, Barbara 87
Statsky, William P. 45
Stavrianos, L. S. 87, 90
Steggert, Frank 66
Steinbeck, John 13
Stern, Mark 66
Stillman, Peter G. 10
Stimpson, Catherine 57
Stokes, Bruce 66, 75-76, 80, 87
Stone, Jane 33, 47
Stone, Kirk 33
Stone, Margaret 20
Strauss, Bert 33
Suess, Terri 66
Sullerot, Evelyne 57
Susskind, Lawrence 69
Swaczy, Barbara 33
Sweet, William 47, 87, 90

*** T ***

Tabb, William 16, 60
Tait, John L. 33
Tanner, Leslie 57
Taylor, Rosemary 80
Tepperman, Jean 50
Terchek, Ronald J. 33
Thayer, Frederick 18, 50
Theobald, Robert 13
Therborn, Goran 10
Third World First 87
Thompson, E. P. 87
Thomson, Ken 66, 93
Thorne, Barrie 87
Thurow, Lester 16
Tierney, Kathleen J. 57
Tigar, Michael 43
Tilly, Charles 13
Tilly, Louise A. 90
Toch, Hans 33
Toffler, Alvin 33
Tomasic, Roman 45
Toner, Nea Carroll 33

Torrey, Wayne 69
Toscano, David J. 53
Townsend, James 90
Trapp, Shel 33-34
Traugott, Mark 13
Tressell, Robert 16
Trice, Robert 87
Troger, Annemarie 58
Trubek, Louise 34
Tse-tung, Mao. 27
Turner, John F. C. 67

*** U ***

U.S. Department
 of Agriculture 76
U.S. Department of Health
 and Human Services 39
U.S. Department of Housing and
 Urban Development 67
Union of Radical Political
 Economics 16, 18, 27
Unsoeld, Krag 75
Urban Rural Mission--Christian
 Conference on Asia 90
Urban Systems Research and
 Engineering, Inc. 69
Uribe-Echebarria, Agustin 53, 90
Useem, Michael 13, 27

*** V ***

Van Til, Jon 10, 66, 71
Verba, Sidney 90
Vogel, David 13, 18
Vogel, Stephen 74
von Hoffman, Nicholas 34, 60, 66
Vose, Clement E. 43

*** W ***

Wachtel, Dawn Day 34
Wagar, Warren 87
Wagner, Kenneth C. 20
Walker, William. 34
Wall, T. D. 53
Wallerstein, Immanuel 50
Walsh, Edward J. 74
Walton, Hanes 60
Walton, John 10
Waltz, Kenneth 87
Walzer, Michael 28
Warnock, Donna 58
Warren, Rachelle 34, 66
Warren, Roland 34
Washnis, George 45
Wasserman, Harvey 76
Wasserman, Steve 13
Wasserstein, Bruce 41
Wasserstrom, Richard 43
Weaver, Ralph 39
Wehr, Paul 87
Weiner, Harold N. 36
Weisberg, Laurie 87
Weiss, John H. 43
Weissbrodt, David 87
Wells, Miriam J. 53
Wellstone, Paul David 71
West, Guida 58
Wheaton, Phillip 90
Wheeler, Robert C. 39
Whyte, William Foote 54
Wicklein, John 77, 90
Williams, Jim 34
Williams, William Appleman . . 24
Wilson, John 10
Winpisinger, William 47
Winston, Martin Bradley . . . 39
Wise, Richard 34
Withorn, Ann 66
Witt, Matt 50, 90
Woito, David 87
Wolfe, Alan 10, 41
Wolff, Robert Paul 28
Wolin, Sheldon S. 10
Woody, Bette 66
Worthy, William. 66
Wren, Brian 81
Wright, Eric Olin . . 28, 41, 47
Wylie, Jeanie 50

*** Y ***

Yaffe, James 44
Yates, Douglas 66
Yin, Robert 66
Yinger, J. Milton 34
Yoes, Jr., E. D. 66

*** Z ***

Zalaquett, Jose 87
Zald, Mayer N. 13
Zaretsky, Eli 10
Zeitlin, Maurice 20
Zinn, Howard 13, 28
Zwerdling, Daniel 54

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